

## Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00  
CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15  
PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 CU-02 /073 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:JJMARESCA ACDA/IR/REG:RSTRAND  
APPROVED BY EUR/RPM:HAHOLMES  
OSD/ISA:HDUNLOP  
ACDA/IR:MHUMPHRE  
PM/DCA:VBAKER  
S/P:PKAPLAN

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O R 180118Z MAR 77  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE  
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USLOSACLANT  
USNMR SHAPE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 060121

HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, CSCE, PARM

SUBJECT: CSCE/CBMS: MARCH 18 POLADS

REF: A) USNATO 1183; B) STATE 46448; C) STATE 30016

D) USNATO ,403

1. INTERNATIONAL STAFF (IS) DRAFT PAPER ON CBMS (REF A)  
IS USEFUL AS A DEVICE FOR FOCUSING FURTHER NATO WORK ON  
CBMS.

2. WE BELIEVE ALLIES SHOULD BEAR IN MIND DURING FURTHER  
POLADS WORK ON CBMS THAT TOTAL NUMBER OF NEW PROPOSALS  
WEST WILL WANT TO PUT FORWARD IN BELGRADE SHOULD BE  
LIMITED, AND THAT THERE SHOULD BE A BALANCE AMONG THE NEW  
PROPOSALS OFFERED IN THE THREE CSCE BASKETS. WE THEREFORE  
BELIEVE POLADS SHOULD NOW BEGIN TO ESTABLISH PRIORITIES  
AMONG POSSIBLE INITIATIVES ON PRESENT LIST OF POSSIBLE NEW  
WESTERN CBM PROPOSALS, (PARA 10 OF IS REPORT), IDENTIFYING  
THOSE FOR WHICH THERE IS BROADEST ALLIANCE SUPPORT AND  
THOSE FOR WHICH THERE IS LESS, WITH A VIEW TO BEGINNING  
THE PROCESS OF NARROWING EVEN FURTHER THE LIST OF POSSIBLE  
ALLIED INITIATIVES. (WE WOULD TENTATIVELY SUGGEST THAT  
TOP PRIORITY BE ASSIGNED TO BRINGING ABOUT NOTIFICATION

OF SMALLER MANEUVERS (BETWEEN 10,000-25,000 TROOPS), AND  
AGREEMENT ON A "CODE OF CONDUCT" FOR TREATMENT OF  
OBSERVERS. SOME OTHER POSSIBLE INITIATIVES MAY ALSO  
RECEIVE A HIGH PRIORITY. WE RECOGNIZE ALLIES MAY WISH  
TO INCLUDE NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS,  
ALTHOUGH OUR OWN POSITION IS STILL UNDER CONSIDERATION.)  
IT MAY BE POSSIBLE NOT ONLY TO DEVELOP A RANK ORDER OF  
PREFERRED ALLIED INITIATIVES BUT ALSO TO ELIMINATE AS  
UNACCEPTABLE TO A NUMBER OF ALLIES SOME OF THE POSSIBILITIES.  
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IES CURRENTLY UNDER REVIEW.

3. WITH REGARD TO BRINGING ABOUT NOTIFICATION OF SMALLER  
MANEUVERS (BETWEEN 10,000-25,000 TROOPS), A SINGLE  
POSSIBLE INITIATIVE IN THIS AREA COULD BE BASED ON ONE  
OF SEVERAL OPTIONS, AS IMPLIED IN PARA 11 OF IS REPORT:

A) LOWERING OF THRESHOLD FOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR  
MILITARY MANEUVERS;

B) ESTABLISHMENT OF THRESHOLD FOR NOTIFICATION OF  
OTHER (SMALLER) MILITARY MANEUVERS;

C) MAKING NOTIFICATIONS OF OTHER (SMALLER) MILITARY  
MANEUVERS MORE OBLIGATORY;

D) COMBINATION OF B AND C ABOVE;

E) PRESSURE DURING REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION FOR

WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES TO CARRY OUT EXISTING VOLUNTARY CBM ON NOTIFICATION OF OTHER (SMALLER) MILITARY MANEUVERS. FURTHER ALLIED WORK COULD CONCENTRATE ON SELECTING THE MOST DESIRABLE OPTION FROM THE ABOVE, WITH PROVISION FOR POSSIBLE FALLBACK, FOR PURSUIT OF OBJECTIVE OF BRINGING ABOUT NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS BELOW EXISTING 25,000 TROOP THRESHOLD.

4. WE BELIEVE ALLIES SHOULD ALSO BEGIN TO DEVELOP SPECIFIC FORMULATIONS FOR POSSIBLE ALLIED PROPOSALS OF SUBSTANTIVE MERIT. HAVING ACCEPTABLE ALLIED FORMULATIONS IN HAND MAY BE USEFUL IF WE WISH TO INFLUENCE FORMULATION OF SIMILAR PROPOSALS BY THE NEUTRALS AND NON-ALIGNED.

5. WE BELIEVE THAT THE POSSIBLE NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED INITIATIVES DISCUSSED IN IS DRAFT HAVE RECEIVED ENOUGH CONFIDENTIAL

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ATTENTION IN NATO DISCUSSIONS, AT LEAST UNTIL WE HAVE A CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF WHICH OF THEM ARE MOST LIKELY TO BE PUT FORWARD AT BELGRADE. OUR PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT IS THAT NONE OF THESE MERITS ALLIED SUPPORT, WITH POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF THE SWEDISH PROPOSAL ON PUBLICATION OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES. HOWEVER, SWEDISH UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DISARMAMENT THORSSON TOLD ACDA OFFICIALS LAST WEEK THAT BECAUSE OF STRENGTH OF SOVIET OPPOSITION GOS HAD NOW DECIDED NOT REPEAT NOT TO INTRODUCE MILITARY EXPENDITURES PUBLICATION PROPOSAL AT BELGRADE. THORSSON SAID HER GOVERNMENT WOULD CONCENTRATE INSTEAD ON ADVANCING ITS PROPOSAL IN THE UN, WHERE IT FELT THE PROPOSAL WAS PROGRESSING SATISFACTORILY.

6. ONE POSSIBLE NEUTRAL-NONALIGNED PROPOSAL NOT DISCUSSED IN IS DRAFT IS YUGOSLAV SUGGESTION THAT MAJOR MANEUVER NOTIFICATION REQUIREMENT BE MADE MORE PRECISE. THIS WAS ONE OF THREE MEASURES FOR STRENGTHENING CBMS (THE OTHERS WERE A STRENGTHENED MOVEMENTS CBM AND EXTENSION OF CBMS TO THE MEDITERRANEAN) WHICH THE YUGOSLAVS TOLD US DURING MARCH 15 CONSULTATIONS THEY WOULD BE MOST INTERESTED IN ACHIEVING AT BELGRADE. WE NOTE "STANDARDIZATION OF NOTIFICATION PROCEDURES" WAS ALSO ON LIST OF FOUR CBM PROPOSALS YUGOSLAVS RECENTLY TOLD DUTCH THEY WOULD BE PUTTING FORWARD AT BELGRADE MEETING. IN EXPLAINING TO US THE NEED FOR MORE PRECISE NOTIFICATION OBLIGATION, YUGOSLAVS POINTED OUT THAT PRESENT SITUATION ALLOWS A STATE TO EXCEED THE 25,000 THRESHOLD, WITHOUT GIVING NOTIFICATION, BY HOLDING A SET OF CONCURRENT SMALLER MANEUVERS. SINCE YUGOSLAVS SAY THEY INTEND TO PURSUE THIS MATTER AT BELGRADE,

WE BELIEVE ALLIES SHOULD EXAMINE THEIR PROPOSAL.

7. WE WOULD PROPOSE FOLLOWING SPECIFIC AMENDMENTS TO DRAFT IS PAPER TO REFLECT ALLIED EMPHASIS AT BELGRADE ON IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW, TO INDICATE ALLIES' SUBSTANTIVE  
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AS WELL AS TACTICAL INTEREST IN LIMITED NUMBER OF NEW CBM INITIATIVES, AND TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT LIST OF NEW PROPOSALS DISCUSSED IN PARAGRAPH 9 OF DRAFT IS A LIST OF POSSIBILITIES FROM AMONG WHICH ALLIES MAY SELECT A LIMITED NUMBER TO SPONSOR AT BELGRADE:

A) PARA 1, LINE 1: INSERT FOLLOWING LANGUAGE BETWEEN WORDS "THAT" AND "IT": ", ALTHOUGH REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION SHOULD BE THE PRIMARY FOCUS OF ALLIED EFFORTS,".

B) PARA 2, LINE 1: INSERT FOLLOWING LANGUAGE BETWEEN WORDS "DELEGATIONS" AND "FELT": "SAW ADVANTAGE TO THE WEST IN BUILDING MODESTLY UPON THE FINAL ACT IN A WAY WHICH COULD BRING A LARGER PART OF THE WARSAW PACT'S MILITARY ACTIVITY WITHIN A FRAMEWORK OF NOTIFICATIONS AND OBSERVATION. THEY".

C) PARA 5: RECOMMEND THAT FINAL SENTENCE OF THIS PARA BE HIGHLIGHTED AS A SEPARATE PARAGRAPH AND THAT "CBM" BE INSERTED BETWEEN "WESTERN" AND "INITIATIVE" IN THAT SENTENCE.

D) PARA 8, LAST LINE: DROP PERIOD AND ADD COMMA PLUS THE FOLLOWING: "OR SUBSTANTIVE VALUE, E.G., IN BRINGING A LARGER PART OF THE WP'S MILITARY ACTIVITY WITHIN A FRAMEWORK OF NOTIFICATIONS AND OBSERVATION."

E) PARA 9: DROP WORD "WESTERN" IN LINE 1 AND INSERT THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGE BETWEEN WORDS "PROPOSALS" AND "ARE" IN LINE 2: "FROM AMONG WHICH ALLIES MIGHT SELECT A LIMITED NUMBER TO PUT FORWARD AT BELGRADE".

8. ALSO, IN DISCUSSION OF SWEDISH BUDGET PROPOSAL IN IS DRAFT (PARA 30(7)), WE PROPOSE US POSITION REFLECTED IN FINAL SENTENCE BE AMENDED TO READ: "ANOTHER MEMBER  
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OF THE COMMITTEE POINTED OUT THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD

GIVEN STRONG SUPPORT TO THE SWEDISH PROPOSAL IN THE UN, THAT HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD CONSIDER SUPPORTING A PARALLEL SWEDISH INITIATIVE AT BELGRADE, AND THAT THEY BELIEVED ALLIED SUPPORT OF AN EFFECTIVELY FORMULATED SWEDISH PROPOSAL COULD HAVE BOTH TACTICAL AND SUBSTANTIVE ADVANTAGES."

9. WE SUGGEST SENTENCE BE ADDED TO FINAL PARAGRAPH OF IS DRAFT NOTING THAT FRG FIGURES SUPPORT CONCLUSION THAT LOWERING THE NOTIFICATION THRESHOLD TO 10,000 WOULD REVERSE THE PRESENT SITUATION IN WHICH THE ALLIES HOLD MORE REPORTABLE EXERCISES THAN DOES THE PACT -- AT LEAST WITHIN THE GEOGRAPHIC AREA COVERED BY THE FIGURES.

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## Message Attributes

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